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# EARLY BRISTOL QUAKERISM

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN THE CITY  
1654 - 1700

RUSSELL MORTIMER

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## BRISTOL BRANCH OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

### LOCAL HISTORY PAMPHLETS

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This is the seventeenth pamphlet in a series issued by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association through its Standing Committee on Local History. Its author is Senior Sub-Librarian in the Brotherton Library at the University of Leeds. His M.A. thesis for the University of Bristol was concerned with early Bristol Quakerism and he is an authority on the subject. He has for some years been joint editor of *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (London).

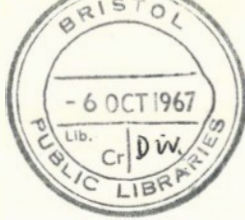
The author would like to express his thanks to a succession of custodians of the records of the Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting, beginning with the late William Henry Wolley who introduced him to the records, the late John Freem, and the present custodians, Dr. Noel Vinter and Mr. Gordon Richmond, who have deposited them at the Bristol Archives Office where they are available to a large circle of research workers. The Bristol Branch of the Historical Association gratefully acknowledges its indebtedness to Miss Elizabeth Ralph; to the Librarian, Friends House, London; and to Mr. Schubart of the Bristol City Art Gallery for help with the illustrations.

The next pamphlet in the series, *The Industrial Archaeology of Bristol* by Dr. R. A. Buchanan, is already in the press. It will be followed by Professor C. M. MacInnes' pamphlet on *Captain Thomas James and the North West Passage*.

Other titles under consideration include: Bristol Castle; The Blue Maids' Orphanage; the Anti-Slavery Movement in Bristol; the street names of Bristol; Bristol railways; Sebastian Cabot; landscape gardening in Bristol. There will also be further pamphlets in the special series on the Port of Bristol.

The pamphlets enjoy a wide circulation and some of them are now out of print. The price has been kept as low as possible, but rising costs of printing and postage are making it increasingly difficult to cover costs, and the price may have to be increased in the near future.

The pamphlets can be obtained from most Bristol booksellers or direct from Mr. Peter Harris, 74, Bell Barn Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9. The Branch hopes that readers will help its work by placing standing orders for future productions.



In the Interregnum the preaching journeys of George Fox (1624-1691) and the band of followers who joined him bore such fruit, that by the time of the Restoration in 1660 it has been estimated that there were 40,000 Friends in the country, and this number probably reached a further peak of perhaps 60,000 in the last years of the century. What is more remarkable is that the society so formed was able to survive the periods of persecution under Charles II and to consolidate and develop an organisation which has served the Society of Friends through three hundred years.

Quakerism usually dates its foundation in 1652, but readers of George Fox's *Journal* know how he had travelled the country and sought the people of the Lord almost from the beginning of the Civil War. During that time he had made contact with various seeking groups scattered in the northern half of England, and in 1652 the movement secured a permanent base. Margaret Fell (1614-1702), wife of Thomas Fell (1598-1658), judge on the North Wales circuit, mistress of Swarthmoor Hall near Ulverston in the Furness district of Lancashire, heard George Fox preach, was convinced and opened her house and gave protection to the workers in the new movement.

From Swarthmoor, when Friends had recruited strength in the North, missions set out, usually consisting of preachers travelling in pairs, to a total of some sixty or seventy men and women, to evangelise the rest of the country.<sup>1</sup>

In 1654 by this means the Quaker message reached Bristol. John Audland and Thomas Airey came in July, and John Audland and John Camm in September. From this later visit the permanent settlement of Quakerism of the city can be dated.

Bristol proved a fertile ground. The puritan divine, Samuel Kem (1604-1670), spoke in 1646 of "the rabble of opinions in this city of Bristol: of which I may say, 'as the sword hath slain many, so hath error many more, in a few months' time'."<sup>2</sup>

1 E. E. Taylor, *The Valiant Sixty*, 1947.

2 Quoted in S. Seyer, *Memoirs*, II. 465, 1823.

A more sympathetic account of the religious ferment is given by the Friend Charles Marshall (1637-1698), when he speaks of his youth :

I went with my mother (Elizabeth Marshall) to the Independent meetings, in the days of that people's tenderness and sincerity; and sometimes I went to the Baptists' meetings . . . Unto one of these, our meetings, in the year 1654, came dearly beloved John Audland and John Camm, messengers of the ever living God.<sup>1</sup>

In point of fact, the first Friends to visit Bristol that we know of were John Audland (c. 1630-1664) and Thomas Airey (d. 1679), both of Westmorland yeoman stock. They had travelled south from Lancashire,<sup>2</sup> and entered the city on election day July 12, 1654. Next day they "delivered the word of the Lord . . . to the Independent and Baptized Churches", and "testified the things of the Kingdom, to a few others, who were waiting for the Redemption of Israel".<sup>3</sup> On the 14th they went on towards Plymouth.

It seems likely that these Friends sought out Dennis Hollister (d. 1676), grocer, deacon of the Broadmead church, member of Barebone's Parliament 1653, and for a time one of the Council of State. The Broadmead Records say that when in London Hollister had "sucked in some upstart doctrines" from the Quakers. The Broadmead Church had to shake him off. In departing, Dennis Hollister took with him about a score of the Broadmead members, and this group probably formed the nucleus of the Friends' meetings which formed when John Audland came again, with John Camm (1605-1657) of Cammsgill, near Kendal. Camm and Audland left London on August 25th and came through Oxford and Banbury to Bristol on Thursday September 7th, 1654. Before the end of the week they visited some small groups, and on Sunday September 10th, they opened their public ministry.

That morning they came to a house in Broadmead "where several People met together, enquiring after these two men of God,"<sup>4</sup> John Audland asked "Is there any one that has any interest in any Field?" To which an "ancient man" (probably Dennis Hollister) replied that he had in a field pretty near, so

1 C. Marshall, *Journal*, 1844, chap. 1.

2 Friends House Library, M.S. 'Booke of Letters . . . from John Audland and John Camm.'

3 *Cry of Blood*, 1656, p. 3.

4 See Charles Marshall's account in *The Memory of the Righteous Revived; being a brief Collection of the Books and Written Epistles of John Camm and John Audland*, 1689.



they went thither, eastward along Broadmead to Earlsmead, the congregation taking seats and stools with them, and being joined on the way by people from the streets.

Charles Marshall described the instant effect of Audland's stirring ministry and his proclamation of "spiritual War with the inhabitants of the Earth, who are in the Fall and Separation from God . . . Ah! the seizings of Souls, and prickings at heart, which attended that season; some fell on the Ground, others crying out under the sence of opening their States . . . Indeed it was a notable day". In the afternoon several hundreds were at a meeting at the Fort. A like number was at the Red Lodge on the following Wednesday.

On the following Sunday hundreds went from the city to a meeting at Bishopsworth, and on Tuesday September 19th there was another meeting at the Red Lodge. On the Thursday, Camm and Audland left for the North, having been in the city only a fortnight. At the end of that time, however, they must have felt that a lasting effect had been achieved, because, on the following Monday, they sent from Hereford, a letter of greeting to be read in Bristol meeting. In the covering letter to Edward Pyott (d. 1670) the two Friends desired to be remembered to his wife, "to Captain Beal and his wife, and to them at the Red-Lodge".<sup>1</sup>

Nearly a month elapsed before other Quaker ministers came to the city, and then, in October, Edward Burrough (1634-1662) and Francis Howgill (1618-1699) arrived. On the Sunday after their arrival they held a large meeting in the Castle, and then went out to Lower Easton and held another meeting at Edward Pyott's house.

The following week was full of activity, and on Sunday October 29th, they held a morning meeting at the house of George Bishop (d. 1668) in Corn Street, and there was a crowded afternoon meeting at the Fort. Of this gathering they wrote to Margaret Fell: "There were about 2000 people there, and many great men and women, and all silent; but we could hardly reach them with words, the multitude was so great: yet all was still, and we could not get from them; so that we were forced to go to a captain's house [Captain Beal's] into a private chamber to hide ourselves".<sup>2</sup>

Next day, at the instigation of ministers jealous of the success of the Quakers' meetings, Burrough and Howgill were called before the magistrates for questioning. They were charged with holding tumultuous meetings, and ordered to depart from the

1 *Memory of the Righteous Revived*, 1689, p. 49. The letter is printed twice in the volume, at pp. 40-48 and 262-70.

2 A. R. Barclay, *Letters, etc., of early Friends*, 1841, p. 219.

city, although one present said "there were many godly honest people without tumult".

Burrough and Howgill refused, replying that they had broken no law, "they were free-born Englishmen, and had served in faithfulness the Common-wealth". True to their word, Burrough and Howgill did not cease work in the city until the middle of November, by which time Camm and Audland had returned.

Opposition soon developed. The pulpits in the city churches were used to reproach the Quakers. Friends complained that they could not go out

but by boys, servants, porters, priests and other people, who would be esteemed of rank and quality, were they openly abused, reproached, dirted, stoned, pincht, kickt, and otherwise grosly injured without check or controle.<sup>1</sup>

The inevitable happened, and the leading opponents of the Quakers were disturbed at their services. First, on Sunday, December 10th, 1654, when Ralph Farmer (d. 1670), a leader of the Presbyterians in the city, had finished his sermon at St. Nicholas church, and was stepping down from the pulpit to administer the sacrament, Elizabeth Marshall cried out:

This is the word of the Lord to thee Farmer, 'Wo, wo, wo from the Lord to them who take the word of the Lord in their mouths, and the Lord never sent them'.<sup>2</sup> She was bundled out into the street, still declaring: 'this is the mighty day of the Lord, the Lord is coming to pull his people out of the mouths of all dumb shepherds'.<sup>3</sup>

Once outside, the "boys and other people followed her with dirt and stones".

That same afternoon, John Woring an apprentice attending a sermon at St. Philip's church, interrupted Samuel Grimes the minister when he was castigating the Quakers. Woring was beaten for his pains; and on the following Wednesday he was taken before the magistrates and sent to Newgate for making a disturbance.<sup>4</sup> A week later, Elizabeth Marshall was at the cathedral on a similar errand, and this raised such a disturbance that she was committed to Newgate.<sup>5</sup>

The claim made by Friends that they were in line in their new movement with the early Christians, and the corollary that "the Apostacy hath held all other professions ever since the dayes of Christ and his apostles",<sup>6</sup> did not endear them to ardent

1 *Cry of blood*, 1656, p. 16.

2 *Cry of blood*, 1656, p. 17.

3 *Cry of blood*, 1656, p. 17.

4 *Cry of blood*, 1656, pp. 17-19.

5 *Cry of blood*, 1656, pp. 19-20.

6 G. Bishop, *Looking-glass for the times*, 1668, p. 5.

members of other churches. No more did their unconventional ways of asserting and pressing their claims and bringing their message to the ears of their fellow citizens. The Broadmead church complained

quakers, many times, would come into our meetings on the Lord's day, in the open public places, called churches . . . and in the midst of the minister's sermon, they would, with a loud voice, cry out against them, calling them hirelings and deceivers, and they would say to the people, they must turn to the light within, their teacher; and that, that was Christ within. Thus, with many other railing . . . words, they would frequently trouble us, shaking, trembling, or quaking, like persons in a fit of the ague, while they spake with a screaming voice.<sup>1</sup>

From the Reformation to the Revolution in 1688 and after, religious dissent in England was too often politically suspect. Upon Friends, cast off as they were from the dominant sects under the Protectorate, and set apart from the Anglican church of the Restoration, fell much persecution which was directed towards unifying the nation, and to which their extreme position under both régimes laid them open.

Whatever their actions may have betokened to casual observers, Friends strongly repudiated any desire to provoke public disorder. "Godly Magistrates I own, and honor in the Lord," wrote John Audland.<sup>2</sup> With John Camm, he wrote to Bristol magistrates after riots in the city in December 1654, when they were mobbed on Bristol Bridge:

Ye Lawe is made for ye punishment of evill doers, and for ye prayse of them yt doe well. Theirfor it belongs unto you, for to execute justice upon ye offenders. For ye magistrate beareth not ye sword in vain.<sup>3</sup>

Until the government could feel sure that Quaker loyalty to the commands of God would not put Friends into conflict with civil authority, they could not be easy. Edward Pyott posed the great question:

But if the Commands of Magistrates . . . be contrary to the Commands of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, and against the Faith and Conscience of Gods faithful and true Worshippers, in this case, is not the Lord rather to be obeyed than Men?<sup>4</sup>

1 E. B. Underhill, ed., *Records of a Church of Christ*, 1847, p. 56.

2 J. Audland, *Schoolmaster disciplin'd*, 1655, p. 1.

3 22nd December 1654; paper in Bristol & Frenchay M.M. archives (deposited at Bristol Archives Office), vol. 137, p. 80.

4 E. Pyott, *Quakers vindicated*, 1667, p. 47.

The task of persuading the government that Quakers were politically benign was made more easy by the manner in which most eschewed participation in political activity. In the 1690s the veteran Thomas Speed (d. 1703), in justifying a vote cast for the Whigs in the 1690 election because the Tories threatened to repeal the Toleration Act, wrote of his forty years' experience: from the time that it pleased the God of my life, to direct my steps into the path of Peace . . . I have constantly judg'd it to be out of my Province, to concern my self about the Choice, or the Change of outward Governments: esteeming it to be my duty (not to dispute, but) to be subject to (and live peaceably under) that Government, which his Providence, who rules in Kingdoms of men, doth set over me.<sup>1</sup>

Most Friends could agree with Thomas Speed:

The highest expectation, that I have from any Government is, but that I may enjoy the liberty of my Conscience, and pass the remainder of my days, in the Land of my Nativity, in the peaceable exercise thereof, without molestation.<sup>2</sup>

When toleration had been achieved in 1689, Friends were satisfied to retain it.

Bristol Friends wrote in 1696

above all things its our great comfort and rejoycing that in all the changes and revolutions that have happened in our time wee are . . . inoffensive to the government.<sup>3</sup>

This attitude contrasts sharply with the former activities of some who became Friends. Dennis Hollister has been mentioned. He was one of the Sequestration committee in Bristol, 1645, and served each year from 1647 to 1653 in the Commissions for raising moneys in the city.<sup>4</sup> When he became a Friend, he "laid down these things, that with the Saints and people of God . . . I might for a time suffer afflictions and reproaches . . . rather then to sit upon Throns with Princes of the earth."<sup>5</sup> However, he was again in the militia commission for a short time in 1659.

George Bishop never quite lost his interest in politics. A captain in the Army, and an ardent republican in the Putney Debates of 1647, he was secretary of the Committee of Examinations concerned with the estates of malignants. He lost his position at Whitehall in 1653 or 1654. In July 1654, on the day that John Audland first came to Bristol, George Bishop was an unsuccessful

1 T. Speed, *Reason against Rage*, 1691, p. 20.

2 T. Speed, *Reason against Rage*, 1691, p.20.

3 Bristol Yearly Meeting, Epistle to London Y.M., 1696.

4 CSPD. 1654, p. 332; Firth & Rait, *Acts & Ordinances*, i. 974. 1095, ii. 42, 308, 477, 674.

5 D. Hollister, *Harlots Vail removed*, 1658, pp. 75-76.



parliamentary candidate against the ruling Presbyterian party.<sup>1</sup> He was among the first to entertain Friends, and is recorded in 1655 as meeting George Fox at Reading, still wearing his sword, although in time he left it off.<sup>2</sup> During the confused period between the death of Oliver Cromwell and the Restoration, he wrote several exhortatory and warning letters to successive governments, stirring them to support of the Good Old Cause, and informing them of suspicious movements among the disaffected in the West.<sup>3</sup> During the Interregnum George Bishop claimed that Friends were “such as have been faithful to, and have stood by the Common-wealth in all its straits.”<sup>4</sup>

After the Restoration such protestations would not be welcome at Whitehall, and the royalists were not slow to seize upon the contradictions to be found in the declarations of Friends. Charles Leslie (1650-1722), one of the most virulent of pamphleteers, wrote that Friends took up the peace-loving pose only when they were beaten, and cou’d fight no longer. But while there was one spark of Life in the *Good Old Cause*, they fought, and preach’d, and curs’d, and damn’d for it all that durst opposed them.<sup>5</sup>

The temper of the mob towards Friends in Bristol was again in evidence during the riots of early February 1660, when cries were heard for King Charles. William Dewsbury (1621-1688) was in the city at the time, and, while he remarks ‘that Friends’ Meetings were not disturbed,

In the height of their madness, the rulers of [the apprentice mob] hearing of a meeting [on] the 3d day of the week . . . at Edward Pyott’s, they gave it out openly amongst the people in the city, that they would come and break it up.<sup>6</sup>

However, the threat was not carried out, and, although an armed band arrived and “ran up and down the house with their weapons in their hands”, they did no mischief. Next day, Dewsbury, with Dennis Hollister, Edward Pyott and Thomas Gouldney (d. 1694) walked through the city

to George Bishop’s [in Corn Street], and came through where they were gathered together: the Majesty of our God struck their hearts, and they all stood gazing upon us: little was spoken, but some said, ‘That is one of the Quaker preachers.’<sup>7</sup>

1 G. Bishop, *Throne of Truth*, 1657, CSPD, 1650, p. 400; G. Bishop, *Mene tekel*, 1659, p. 48.

2 G. Fox, *Journal*. Edited by J. L. Nickalls, 1952, p. 212.

3 e.g. G. Bishop, *Warnings*, 1660, p. 26, dated 6th Aug. 1659.

4 G. Bishop, *Throne of Truth*, 1657, p. 46.

5 From *The Snake in the Grass*, in C. Leslie, *Theological Works*, 1722, II. 111.

6 5th February, 1660; E. Smith, *Life of William Dewsbury*, 1836, p. 149.

7 E. Smith, *William Dewsbury*, 1836, p. 151.

Friends' testimony against taking oaths rendered them more suspect after the Restoration, when the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were used as a test of loyalty to the crown. In 1663 however, they took the opportunity to show goodwill towards the city and the king. The royal court was on a visit to Bath, and Bristol invited the King and the Queen to come to the city. The city treasury was in its usual chronic state of poverty, and at short notice Thomas Speed and George Bishop offered a loan of £100 on behalf of Friends towards the £450 expenses of the civic banquet. Nearly a quarter of a century later, after the end of the persecutions, Charles Jones (d. 1714) and a deputation of Bristol Friends attended on James II at Bath when he was on a western progress, and presented an address of thanks for the Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.<sup>1</sup>

Toleration was what Friends had long desired. In 1656 George Bishop reproached Cromwell for not keeping his promises of freedom of worship.<sup>2</sup> At another time he wrote

Liberty of conscience in the exercise of Religion, in whatsoever it is perswaded to be the mind of God, in which he will be worshipped, [is] not to be imposed upon at all in matters of Religion.<sup>3</sup>

Even when Friends were complaining that proceedings were taken against them under old Acts aimed at Roman Catholics, they were careful to add that they would not advocate the enforcement of those Acts against Catholics either.

Friends were charged with plotting against the government, with blasphemy (under the Act of 1650), with disturbing church services and refusing honour to magistrates, or even with vagrancy. After the Restoration the Quaker Act (1662) and the two Conventicle Acts (1664, 1670) provided ready means to break up meetings, but Friends insisted on maintaining their own public worship in spite of the penalties imposed by Acts of Parliament.

Friends suffered much persecution. Their records, and the printed account by Joseph Besse<sup>4</sup> give a picture of the effects of the penal laws which is not so readily available for other dissenting bodies. Most sufferings arose from attendance at meetings, and refusal to swear. This last involved Friends in various civil disabilities. In Bristol, as in other corporate towns, young men who had served their apprenticeship were prevented from taking up the trade they had learnt, because an oath was required in

1 J. F. Nicholls & J. Taylor, *Bristol past and present*, III, 1882, p. 116.

2 G. Bishop, *Warnings*, 1660, pp. 6-7.

3 G. Bishop, *Illumination*, 1661, p. 5.

4 J. Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, 2 vols. 1753.

des Quackers  
IACOB NAYLORS Einzug in BRISTOL.



Der tolle Hauß schwermet in süßrer Kaserey,  
daß dieser Rittersmann der Christ des Herren sey:  
Zwo Weiber leitens Pferd, die andern müssen streuen,  
die Kleider auf den Weg, und Heilig, Heilig schreyen.

James Nayler's entry into Bristol, 1656. From *Anabaptisticum et Enthusiasticum Pantheon*, 1702.





Marriage of William Penn to Hannah Callowhill. From a painting by Ernest Board, R.W.A.  
Reproduced by courtesy of the Bristol City Art Gallery.



taking up the freedom of the city. Others were precluded from recovering debts at law, and from maintaining their civil rights in other ways.

The Fifth Monarchy rising in London in January 1661, with the cry "King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates", was the first occasion of imprisonment under Charles II. The government was alarmed and issued a proclamation against the meetings of the sectaries, including Friends. Over 4000 Friends were arrested; 190 were carried off to jail in Bristol. Dennis Hollister and George Bishop, summoned before the mayor to give sureties "for their Behaviour", refused to do so, knowing that the 'good behaviour' of the mayor meant restraint from religious meetings. They frankly told him that the magistrates

might as well think to hinder the Sun from shining, or the Tide from flowing, as to think to hinder the Lord's People from Meeting to wait upon him, whilst but two of them were left together.<sup>1</sup>

After some weeks, the prisoners were set at liberty, when the Quaker leaders in London, supported by Margaret Fell's personal applications to the King, were able to convince the government of Quaker loyalty.

The mayoralty of Sir John Knight the Elder (1613-1683) in 1663-64 was a period of bitter suffering for Friends in Bristol. In Parliament Knight was active in pressing through the Conventicle Act, with its banishment clause for the third offence. He was heard to say that he hoped to transport overseas 400 Quakers before the end of his mayoralty. When the Act was passed, he hastened down to Bristol and committed a large number to prison under the Act; but only Cananuel Britton, Bartholomew Crocker and Lewis Rogers had been condemned to be banished to Barbados when his term of office expired at Michaelmas. Although prosecutions continued, and others, including George Bishop, were sentenced to transportation, no ship could be found willing to take them.

After some quiet years, the Second Conventicle Act came into force in May 1670, and Friends were excluded from their meeting houses, including the newly erected house at the Friars, and could not resume possession for some months.

The heaviest persecution however, came a decade later, at the end of 1681, when the high Tory John Knight (d. 1718) was sheriff and in a position to influence the magistrates towards persecuting the sects. The meeting houses at the Friars and in

1 J. Besse, *Abstract of the Sufferings*, II, 1738, p. 40.

Temple Street were damaged by tearing down galleries and breaking furniture to the extent of £150 in value. Under pretence of levying sums of money on the houses for non-payment of rates in support of the trained bands, the authorities took possession of the buildings, and nailed up the doors. Friends then met in the street, exposed to all weathers, and suffering a long series of brutal assaults on men, women and children.

At one Quarter Sessions (April 29th, 1682) the magistrates showed their goodwill to the prisoners by liberating the greater part, on promise to appear at next Sessions. But this only led to fresh outrages on the part of the newly-knighted sheriff and his principal assistant, John Helliar, attorney. When the Friars was again opened for meeting on May 7th, some Friends were sent off to prison, and the rest of the company (14 men and 87 women) were nailed up in the house for well nigh six hours.<sup>1</sup> Because the women continued to keep up the meetings, they too were sent to jail, and there were few but children to meet together. It is recorded that they kept up the meetings in spite of beatings and threats of imprisonment. Both boys and girls were put in the stocks they were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone sticks. Helliar sent eleven boys and four girls to Bridewell; next day they were brought before the deputy mayor; they were cajoled and threatened, to make them forbear their meetings, but the children in that respect were immovable: Wherefore they were sent back to Bridewell; Helliar, to terrify them, charging the keeper to procure a new cat of nine tails against next morning. Next day he urged the justices to have them corrected, but could not prevail.<sup>2</sup>

The political undertones of the persecution were not far to seek. It was hinted in London that if the Quaker leaders

Mr. Penn or Mr. Whitehead would undertake for the Quakers, that they should not vote for parliament men, there should be no further persecution of them.<sup>3</sup>

The accounts of Bristol sufferings occupy many pages. Some Friends died as a result of ill treatment and imprisonment in the crowded and insanitary jail at Newgate. Fines imposed in 1683 for non-attendance at Church of England worship, under the Act of 35 Elizabeth, amounted to the sum of £16,440, but there

1 *A Farther Account . . . of the Cruel Persecution, 1682*, p. 1, underlines the brutishness of these men, "allowing no way out for conveniency of Ease or Refreshment to Nature, which Helliar was so sensible of, that he told the Women to this effect, *That the next time they should bring Chamber-Pots with them*".

2 John Gough, *History of the People called Quakers*, 1789, II. 532.

3 John Gough, *History of the People called Quakers*, 1789, II. 533.

seems no means of ascertaining to what extent this sum was actually levied.<sup>1</sup>

A great effort was made by Knight and Helliar to put in execution the sentence of death, awarded by this Act of Elizabeth to those who should refuse to conform or to abjure the realm. As a Friend could not take an oath and could not conform to the Anglican church there was no escape. Richard Vickris (d. 1700), son of Alderman Robert Vickris (d. 1684?) was sentenced to death by the Recorder Sir John Churchill in August 1684. As the time of execution approached, his wife Elizabeth, daughter of George Bishop, went to London, and was there by application to the Duke of York able to obtain the issue of a writ of error, by which her husband was brought to the King's Bench. There he was liberated by Chief Justice Jeffreys. "Few so bad," remarks John Whiting (1656-1722), the Wrington Friend, "but they may do some good acts."

About 100 Friends continued prisoners in Bristol until 1685 when they formed part of the 1,500 or so, who were liberated on the royal warrant of James II.

George Fox came to Bristol and held meetings several times, the first visit being in early October 1656, after his imprisonment in Launceston jail. Edward Pyott was with him, and they reached Pyott's house on Saturday evening, October 4th

"and it was noised over the town that I was come; and I had never been there before. And on the first-day morning I went to the meeting in Broadmead, and a great meeting there was, and quiet. And in the afternoon notice was given of a meeting in the orchard . . .

And so when I came into the orchard I stood upon the stone that Friends used to speak on and was moved of the Lord to put off my hat and to stand a pretty while and let the people look at me, for there were many thousands of people there . . .

And then a glorious peaceable meeting we had . . ."<sup>2</sup>

In 1657 and again in March 1660 George Fox was in Bristol. On this later occasion, finding that Friends had been driven out of the Orchard the day before by a company of soldiers, Fox asked George Bishop, Thomas Gouldney, Thomas Speed and Edward Pyott to go to the mayor and ask for Friends to be allowed the use of the "tounde hall" to meet in, and to offer at the same time to pay £20 a year to the poor, as compensation

1 J. Besse, *Sufferings*, 1753, I. 70.

2 G. Fox, *Journal*, 1952, pp. 269-71.

for its use. These Friends were astonished, and said the mayor and aldermen would think they were mad. They consented to go, though "in the cross to their own wills". They appeared agreeably surprised at their reception. On hearing their proposal the mayor (Edward Tyson) said, "for his part he could agree to it, but he was but one". He mentioned another hall to them, which was, however, inconvenient. So they came away, leaving the mayor "very loving to them".<sup>1</sup>

In July 1662 George Fox had a narrow escape from imprisonment at meeting in Broadmead. Alexander Parker (1628-1689) his companion, standing up first to speak, was carried off to prison. George Fox stood up after him, but was unmolested. He says, "I stayed in Bristol all the week, where many hundreds of Friends came to visit and see me".<sup>2</sup>

On the Sunday morning several Friends came to Edward Pyott's at Lower Easton where Fox was, to persuade him not to go to the meeting that day; for the magistrates had threatened to take him, and had raised the trained bands. George Fox told Edward Pyott that he intended to go, and Edward Pyott sent his son to show the way from his house by the fields. As he went Fox tells how he "met divers Friends who came to prevent my going. 'Alack,' said Friends, 'What! wilt thou go into the dragon's mouth?' But I bid them stand by; so I went up into the meeting and it was full. And it astonished Friends to see me come in. Margaret Thomas [d. 1692] was speaking, and when she had done I stood up and declared the everlasting Truth".<sup>3</sup>

After he had spoken he prayed

"and when I had prayed I was moved to speak a few words. And as I was going down out of the meeting place . . . I was moved to go back again and speak a few words, and stood up and told them that they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver. Friends cried as I passed away, and said, 'George, the officers are coming'. So the meeting broke up in peace, and Friends were set over all their heads, and none were taken."<sup>4</sup>

George Fox was in Bristol again in 1667, but his most noteworthy visit was in the autumn of 1669 when he married Margaret Fell at the Broadmead meeting. They spent a brief space in south Gloucestershire, before he went on again in his preaching work. Four years later in 1673, on returning from a ministerial visit to America and the West Indies, George Fox landed at Shirehampton

1 *Journal*, p. 365, 366, 367.

2 *Journal*, p. 426.

3 *Journal*, p. 426.

4 *Journal*, p. 427.



after a four-weeks' passage in the *Society* from the Capes of Virginia. The *Journal* says

“And the 28th day of the 4th month (June 1673) we cast anchor about the first hour in the afternoon at King's Road, the harbour of Bristol. And there lay a man-of-war, and the press masters came on board us, to press our men, and took four. And we had a precious meeting with the seamen, and the press masters stayed the meeting, and liked it very well. And one of them said that he was refreshed more by hearing us than by any other people. And after the meeting was done I spoke to him that he would leave two men that he had pressed, one was lame and the other was the mate; and he said, for my words he would. So we came off the ship in a boat to land and it was rainy and dirty, and walked about a mile, and a Friend got me a horse, and brought me to the town called Shirehampton, and there we stayed a while and got horses, and rode that night to Bristol

”<sup>1</sup>

He stayed some weeks until the Fair, holding meetings in the city. In addition to the usual fairtime influx of merchants on business, there were many Friends, among them Margaret Fox, her daughters and Thomas Lower (1633-1720), her son in law, and John Rous (d. 1695), and William (1644-1718) and Gulielma (1644-1694) Penn.

William and Gulielma Penn had been in Bristol in 1669 and William Penn was again in the city early in 1678 with George Fox during the meetings to discuss the divisions over Quaker central church organisation, in which William Rogers one of the most prominent Bristol Friends sided with two Westmorland leaders, John Story and John Wilkinson. In March 1696 at the Friars, William Penn married as his second wife, Hannah Callowhill (1671-1726), granddaughter of Dennis Hollister. For the next two years, until they went to Pennsylvania in 1699, the Penns lived in Bristol, and the layout of the Hollister estate in Penn Street (and the former Philadelphia, Callowhill and Hollister streets) probably was planned then.

Although on their return from America in 1701 the Penns lived elsewhere, at times they visited Bristol, at least until the deaths of Thomas and Hannah (Hollister) Callowhill in 1712. At this period financial support from Bristol Friends helped William Penn, who had drained his private resources to establish Pennsylvania, and invested money which did not begin to produce financial returns for his descendants until well on in the eighteenth century.

1 *Journal*, p. 660.

## The Meeting Houses

When Friends first came to Bristol large meetings were held out of doors, but Friends also met in small groups at each others' houses. The houses of prominent Friends have been named in this connection. By 1656 there appears to have been a ground-floor meeting room near the Orchard, possibly in Broadmead. In 1662 Friends were meeting in an upstairs room in a house in Broadmead. There they remained until 1671 when the tenancy was given up and the Broadmead church moved in to occupy it.

It was in the Broadmead house that George Fox was married to Margaret Fell. Friends in Bristol at that time helped to decide on building a new meeting house. It was decided that it should be built on Dennis Hollister's ground in the Friars, and that a committee of six Bristol Friends

“Wm. Taylor [d. 1701], Wm. Yeamans [1639-74], Thos. Gouldney, Thos. Bisse, Richard Marsh [c. 1630-1704] and Jno. Love [d. 1696], doe contract, build and furnish the said meeting house at the publick cost of Friends.”<sup>1</sup>

This they did for £857, including £200 “Purchase money for the site paid to Dennis Hollister.”

In 1670, almost as soon as the building was completed, it was seized by the authorities and closed for some months under the Second Conventicle Act. Eleven years later the premises were again seized and the interior badly damaged; and it was not until 1686 that possession was regained.

The 1670 building occupied the same site as the large meeting house which was erected in 1747, and which the corporation now uses as a registry office.<sup>2</sup>

The entrance was from Merchant Street. Payments to the porter of Newgate of 5s. per quarter are recorded at least from 1673 until 1710, for his pains in opening the gate for Friends going out of the city to meeting on Sundays. Earlier payments to the Pithay Gate porter are recorded, when Friends met in Broadmead.

Bristol was at least from 1667 remarkable for having two meeting houses belonging to the same congregation; and at least from the year 1670, there were two weekday meetings, on Tuesdays and Fridays, at the Friars. The Temple Street meeting house was normally used only on Sundays for the convenience of Friends south of the river.

The house in Temple Street appears to have been finished in less than a year, and was opened in 1667. It was enlarged in 1673, repaired after being damaged in the persecution of 1682-86, and in

<sup>1</sup> Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 2.ix.1669.

<sup>2</sup> M. H. Simpson, 'Bristol Friends and the Friars Meeting House.' (*Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, xlvii, 1955.)

1763 it was rebuilt. In 1832 this house was used as a cholera hospital, and soon afterwards sold.

### **Burial Grounds**

The first burial ground known to have been used by Friends was just outside Redcliffe Gate at Redcliff Pit, purchased in 1665. The herbage was let in 1668 for three years, at 30s. per annum. A portion of this ground is now a garden at the south west corner of the roundabout on the city side of St. Mary Redcliffe church; the rest has been used for road widening. The Friars burial ground, formerly east of the meeting house, was probably the garden purchased of Dennis Hollister as part of the meeting house premises, and described as having been formerly a burying ground (probably of the Dominican friary).

A third burying ground, at the Workhouse, was opened in 1708, and it is on a portion of this ground that the new 'Friars' Meeting House in River Street has been erected since the sale of the Friars property to the corporation in 1956.

### **The Ministry**

Friends then, as they do now, met in silence, and spoken messages would be given—sermons, prayers, exhortations or occasionally hymns, from persons in the meeting who were moved so to do. At first there was no formal recognition of ministers, even of those who might speak frequently. Before long however it was found needful to give certificates of membership to those who removed from one meeting to another, and similar credentials were given to those who travelled in the work of ministry. Thus, when in 1698 William Penn was going to Ireland, he asked the Men's Meeting for a certificate :

Wm Penn haveing signified to this meeting his intend shortly to goe for Ireland, desires according to the good order amongst Friends, to have certeficate. Richard Snead [d. 1712], Charles Harford [1631-1709], Thomas Callowhill, Benjamin Coole [d. 1717] & Charles Harford Juner [1662-1725], or any two or three of them are desired to drawe and signe it, togeather with an Epistell from this meeting to the Halfe yearly meeting at Dublin.<sup>1</sup>

There may have been about a dozen Friends in Bristol who served as ministers, and visits received from stranger Friends travelling in the ministry averaged about one a fortnight for many years in succession.<sup>2</sup>

1 Bristol Men's Meeting minutes, 25.ii.1698.

2 See W. Tanner, *Three lectures*, 1858, p. 91. Estimate based on the oats consumed by ministers' horses.

## The Meetings for Business

Friends were careful to watch over the behaviour of their members so that there should be no ground for reproach. The records provide evidence of care for the poor, assistance in education and apprenticeship, advice on commercial morality and on the careful keeping of accounts and registers, and of the concern for delinquents.

The Men's Two-weeks Meeting was the main meeting for church discipline. Some meeting must have existed earlier, but the Men's Meeting seems to have been established formally (and the records begin) in 1667. It met fortnightly and exercised the functions of governing the body of Friends in Bristol, functions which in wider areas would be exercised by the monthly and quarterly meetings. It kept in touch with London Friends through its correspondents in Meeting for Sufferings, and it appointed representatives to London Yearly Meeting when that was established.

From time to time Bristol Men's Meeting established the following meetings—a Men's and Women's Meeting (1673-81), a Monthly Meeting (in 1697) for the oversight of ministry and discipline, as well as other *ad hoc* committees.

There were also quarterly or periodical general meetings of the heads of families, Friends who through the nature of their work might not all be free to attend the Monday afternoon sessions of the Men's Meeting.

Records do not survive of the early Women's Meeting, established at the same time as the Men's. It was largely occupied with the care of the poor, and dealt with applications for relief from persons of both sexes.

In the exercise of the discipline, and in dealing with delinquents the chief object kept in view was to reclaim the backslider. When private remonstrance failed, the case was reported to the meeting for discipline, the offender was invited to attend, or two or three were appointed to visit him. The terms made use of in such appointments were sometimes very expressive. Two or more Friends were desired to go and visit such an one "in love to his soul, and admonish him to repent and turn to his first love, and testify against his evil." Remarkable patience and forbearance were exercised in some of these cases.

Those who expressed regret for their misconduct were asked to draw up a declaration or testimony of their repentance; and if this was considered satisfactory, they might be asked to read it at the close of a meeting for worship, as warning to others and as evidence of their sincerity. In cases of disownment for marriage at church, a copy was sometimes ordered to be sent to the priest by



advised and consent of Thomas Spence

5<sup>th</sup> of 11<sup>th</sup> mo 1672

John Virick by a paper made his request to this meeting to supply him with some stock to begin his trade againe, But friends not accounting the said John Virick so faithful a friend as one whom they are obliged to take such care of as to see him supplied: Doe therefore reject his sayd request for the present necessity that his family may not want, friends doe therefore appoint Charly Harvord & William Hoard to disburs <sup>out</sup> twenty shillings out of the publique stock for his purchase, at times as they shall see neede.

Whereas it is reported from Virginia that some of our friends hath of late by their unfaithfull walking there dishonoured their health: In regard we have noo pticular charge friends here have undertaken to speake with those friends in generall that are concerned in Trade there advising them to be contented with noo such occasion as given for time to come, but for as much as all being not here present, Charly Jones, Ch. Harvord & J<sup>n</sup> Lewis are desired to speake with Richard Spence, William Hurrit & William West &c to signify the said desire to them.

Whereby that Charly Harvord & W<sup>m</sup> Hoard disburs shew p<sup>er</sup>cents out of the publique stock to wards selling Isaac the son of Margrit Thomas an apprentice and that they take care to see the said Inventures duly examined & signed upon payment of the money.

Minutes of the Men's Meeting, 1672. Reproduced from the original deposited in the Bristol Archives Office.



Engraving of William Penn. Reproduced by courtesy of the Bristol City Library.



whom the parties had been married. One Friend who had acknowledged drunkenness was asked to name the houses where his conduct had occasioned reproach, so that a copy of his declaration of repentance might be sent to each of them.

Among the records of repentance is a letter of 1669 from Hannah Salter (late Stringer) regretting the part she had played in accompanying James Nayler in his entry into Bristol thirteen years before. This is noteworthy, for the entry of James Nayler (c. 1617-1660) on October 24th, 1656 into Bristol after his release from prison at Exeter had scandalised the city. Nayler was a sick man. Seated on a horse, and accompanied in a storm of rain by a handful of women supporters singing Hosanna, with a man leading the horse, in a seeming representation of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem, he came through Redcliffe Gate, along Redcliffe Street and across Bristol Bridge up to the White Hart in Broad Street. Bristol Friends, knowing of the differences which had arisen between George Fox and James Nayler, avoided contact with him. Nayler had been with Friends in Bristol before. His action now, and the publicity which followed did a great deal of damage to the Quaker movement in the West. Popular sympathy for Nayler in the harsh punishment to which he was sentenced in Parliament, and his unreserved contrition for his fault, could not repair this hurt. The paper by Hannah Salter made some amends.

The most frequent causes of disownment were being married at church and intemperance.

### **Marriage Procedure**

Quaker marriages are entered into on declaration of both parties in a meeting for worship, and the certificate of marriage is signed in witness by Friends present at the meeting. Before being allowed to hold the ceremony those wishing so to be married obtained the permission of the meetings for business. Before they could give such consent the meetings had to be satisfied that the Friends were free to marry. Strangers had to produce a certificate from their home meeting stating that they were free from entanglements. Many minutes about marriages are to be found in the minute books, and they often tell more about the families and circumstances of the parties than is ever revealed either by the certificates or the register entries recorded when the ceremonies took place. The early minutes are not so detailed, but when in October 1669, George Fox and Margaret Fell declared their intention of marriage to the Bristol Meeting, several of Margaret Fell's children who were present, expressed their approval.<sup>1</sup>

1 For a fuller account of 'Marriage discipline of early Friends,' see *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, xlvi, 175-195, 1957.

## Collections

Regularly, normally yearly, the meeting would set on foot a collection to replenish the public stock for general expenses, rates and repairs to houses, provision for the poor and those in need of schooling, for apprenticeship or medical care, and for subscription to the National Stock in London. Subscription lists survive only from 1686, but from that time they provide a key to the relative generosity and wealth of the heads of households who supported the work of the meeting over a long period. The subscription of 1686 raised £149.16s. from 110 subscribers, that of 1687 £121.11s.6d. from 129 subscribers.

Friends accepted responsibility for the care of the poor in their midst, and the Women's Meeting was concerned largely in that work. Friends did not countenance idleness. One person was remonstrated with for not supporting his family; and his reply that he would work at his "trade in the winter, and gather herbs in the summer" was not accepted. No Friend in good standing might beg. "Take no notice of any person that shall at any time pretend to come begging or procureing of money after that sort, since noe Honest Friends are ever exposed after that manner," Bristol Yearly Meeting assured Friends in the west of England.

During the 1690s Friends found that their poor (and weavers in particular) were "in som destress for want of Worke to Employ themselves for a Livelihood." In earlier times the meeting provided a stock in trade for poor tradesmen to work at, and guaranteed to purchase the products of their labour, but by 1696 the situation was such that Friends established (and a couple of years later newly built at a cost of £1,300) their own Workhouse "for the Willing Friends to worke in & the Aged & Feeble to live in," in New Street (St. Jude's).

The Workhouse suffered the unpopularity which workhouses generally experienced. The poor valued their freedom.

Very soon, boys were admitted. They were given schooling and afterwards taught weaving. This trade was carried on until about the year 1721. The chief article manufactured was the sort of woollen stuffs called "cantaloons." Some records of the venture survive but the Workhouse ledger has been lost, so that its chequered financial history is obscure.

Friends also gave help to non-Bristolians. Assistance to Friends going to Pennsylvania is repeatedly mentioned. There were applications too, for funds to be used in the redemption of Friends who were captives in Algiers. Bristol sent £10 for this purpose in 1674, and £20 in 1679, out of a sum of £220 required.

In 1692 Bristol sent £162 to London in response to a Meeting for Sufferings' appeal for a collection to relieve the distress in



Ireland, where Friends returning to their homes after the war found little but "great waste and ruin."<sup>1</sup>

## Education

George Fox encouraged Friends to be interested in education, to maintain schools and to educate their poor. In 1668 Bristol Meeting heard from John Toppin, schoolmaster, that he would come and teach school on such terms and conditions for wages as Friends should judge meet. The minute proceeds,

It is ordered that he shall have ten pounds per annum allowed him out of the publique stock, in consideration whereof he is to teach soe many of poore children as shall be thought convenient by this meeting.<sup>2</sup>

In 1674 Lawrence Steel (c. 1644-1684) arrived, and the Men's Meeting recorded

It being proposed to this meeting, to spare the voyd roome over our meeting house to Lawrence Steele, for a schoole room. This meeting doth, with one accord, give their concent that he shall have it to the use proposed.<sup>3</sup>

Lawrence Steel was author of a manual of shorthand. He kept school at the Friars until 1682, when he was imprisoned for attending meetings, and his health broke down. He died in 1684 soon after his release from prison.

After an interval the next schoolmaster at the Friars was Patrick Logan, an Edinburgh graduate, from Ireland, who was a refugee in London in 1690. Patrick was succeeded by his son James Logan (1674-1751), who in 1699 went to Pennsylvania as secretary to William Penn.

Next came Alexander Arscott (c. 1677-1737), son of the minister of South Molton in Devonshire. He had been at Oxford, but left without a degree. He served the school and the meeting with distinction from 1699 until his death in 1737.

## Apprenticeship

The Meeting concerned itself with apprenticeship mainly in cases when money or help was needed in placing a child, or when difficulties arose between master and apprentice. Thus, Thomas Parsons, a Portishead Friend who had died a prisoner for non-payment of tithe in Ilchester jail, had left his family in poor circumstances. Samuel Parsons, son of Thomas, was apprenticed at

1 My article in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, xlviii, 1958, pp. 267-79, summarises Bristol Friends' collections in response to Briefs.

2 Men's Meeting minutes, 22.xii.1668; see also 22.i.1668/9.

3 Men's Meeting minutes, 27.ii.1674.

the expense of Bristol Friends, but proved unruly. His master Thomas Watkins came to the Meeting, and desired

the Assistance of this meeting to be discharged of his servant Samuëll Parsons, for that his unfaithfullness & disorder is such that he cannot well beare him in his house.<sup>1</sup> The lad was sent to sea.

### **Conciliation**

Friends tried to settle disputes between members within the Society. Differences would be settled privately between the parties if possible, and if not, then by some Friends of the same meeting. Most of the cases which came before the meetings were small debts and business partnership disputes, with occasionally matrimonial or testamentary cases. This served to maintain the good reputation of the Quaker community in the city, and to relieve the civil courts of petty disputes. Only in the last resort might Friend go to law against Friend. It would appear, however, that Edward Martindale (d. 1703) was of a litigious turn, for (as Friends were informed) he had

contrarie to the tender advice of Friends, of late prosecuted at law, William Rogers, Cornelius Serjant (d. 1726) and Isaac Hemming, without having first sought remedy and justice amongst Friends, & proceeded with that harshness in law, as to cause a publick reproach & reflection on ye profession of Friends.<sup>2</sup>

### **Membership**

For nearly a century after the beginning of Quakerism membership was not defined. During the early period the practice was to recognise all who worshipped with Friends, who held similar views on faith and conduct, and who by their lives showed their beliefs. Any who by misconduct proved themselves insincere were disowned. Persecution could be relied upon to discourage the person who was not fully convinced of Friends' principles.

Inquiry would be made as to the orderly conduct of those who applied for relief, or for leave to be married at meeting, or for certificates of membership on their removal from one meeting to another. Persons in good standing would be granted their requests, but there was no formal admission into membership for a long time.

This fluidity makes difficult any assessment of the number of Friends in the seventeenth century. The Friends kept registers of

1 Men's Meeting minutes, 2.iv.1676; see also 2.v. & 27.vi.1677.

2 Men's Meeting minutes, 4 March 1687.

births, marriages and deaths, but there are gaps, and we cannot get a complete picture from subscription lists or minute books. The number of marriages in Bristol Meeting from 1686-90 was 54; from 1691-95, 45; and from 1696-1700, 34. The total number of Friends must have been well under 1,000 around the end of the century, and it is obvious that the Friend population was not reproducing itself.

### **Bristol as a Quaker Centre**

The early ministers recognised the value of Bristol as a centre for spreading the Quaker movement through the West of England. Their opponents saw it too. William Thomas (1593-1667), the minister at Ubley, held up Bristol Quakerism

as a matter of deep humiliation to that (otherwise honourable) City; especially considering how the infection hath spread itself thence into all adjacent parts.<sup>1</sup>

In later years, Bristol Friends recognised their responsibilities and sought to give help to Friends in the surrounding counties. For instance, in 1694, Bristol Friends were recommended to encourage Kingsweston Friends, by attending their monthly Sunday meeting, "they being declineing, and weeke, and few in number."<sup>2</sup>

On the other side, there is evidence that North Somerset Friends felt that Friends from villages like Whitchurch and Keynsham on the southern border of Bristol, should not forsake their own small meetings for the larger numbers and greater activity to be found in the city. In fact, Bristol Friends could do little to stop this, but they were mindful of the needs of Quakerism in the larger context of the region, the nation and the world. Contacts with ministers and travellers who came to take shipping for Ireland and the western hemisphere would see to that. It was no accident that the great *exposé* of the persecutions in America, *New England judged*, 1661, was written by George Bishop.

The establishment in 1695 of Bristol Yearly Meeting, an annual gathering of Friends in the south-western counties held for three days each Spring, brought ministers and Friends to the city from as far apart as Penzance and Worcester. Throughout the eighteenth century these meetings provided contacts with ministers from many parts of the country and from America, so that Bristol was able to play its part as an important centre in a movement which was influential not only in England but also across the Atlantic.

1 W. Thomas, *Rayling rebuked*, 1656, signature A2a.

2 Men's Meeting minutes, 9.v.1694.

### **Bristol Meeting archives**

(Deposited by Bristol & Frenchay Monthly Meeting at the Bristol Archives Office, The Council House, Bristol.)

Men's Meeting records from 1667; the Women's Meeting records are extant only from 1755.

Letters and papers of George Fox and other Friends (from 1661)

Illustrations of discipline (from 1666)

Records of dealings with delinquents; including Men's and Women's Meeting, from 1669, and Monthly Meeting, from 1697

Letters of contrition, etc. (1669-1691).

Building book (from 1670)

Letters of discipline (from 1671)

Papers illustrating the management of the poor (from 1676) and the Workhouse

Certificates of removal (from 1681)

Certificates of clearance for marriage (from 1682)

Bequest ledger (from 1684)

Bequest book (from 1685)

Collection lists (from 1686)

Women's bequest cash book (from 1691)

Bristol Yearly Meeting minutes and proceedings (from 1694)

Ministers' certificates (from 1698)

Digests of Registers of births, marriages and deaths.

[The Registers are in the Public Record Office.]

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W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 2nd edition, 1955.

*The Second Period of Quakerism*, 2nd edition, 1961.

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### **Works on Bristol Quakerism**

William Tanner, *Three Lectures on the Early History of the Society of Friends in Bristol and Somersetshire*, 1858.

Marian Fry Pease, *A brief historical account of the Friends' Meeting House premises called the Friars situate between Broad Weir and Rosemary Street, Bristol. Period 1227 to 1937.* (Pamphlet). Also: New edition — *Period 1227 to 1939.* Illustrated.

R. S. Mortimer, 'Quakerism in seventeenth century Bristol.' (Unpublished typescript. Bristol M.A. thesis, 1946.)



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